

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 0469

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GY

SUBJECT: FONMIN WILLS VISIT TO WASHINGTON: SOME CONSIDERATIONS  
AND SUGGESTIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: THE MARCH 9 VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF FONMIN WILLS HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR MARKING A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF US-GUYANA RELATIONS. IN SUBSTANTIVE TERMS THE VISIT WILL ACCOMPLISH LITTLE OTHER THAN ELICIT STATEMENTS OF INTENT FROM WILLS CONCERNING THE GOG'S DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE US WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GUYANA'S SOCIALISM AND NON-ALIGNED ORIENTATION. WILLS HOPES TO RECEIVE ASSURANCES THAT THE US ACCEPTS AND CAN PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO A SOCIALIST GUYANA, PROVIDED THAT THE LATTER MAINTAINS A FRIENDLY POSTURE TOWARD THE US. REGARDLESS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE ASSURANCES THAT CAN OR CAN NOT BE GIVEN TO WILLS AT THIS TIME, THE WARMTH AND MANNER WITH WHICH HE IS RECEIVED WILL BE IMPORTANT. IT WOULD OFFER ENCOURAGEMENT TO THOSE GUYANESE WHO WANT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US AND WHO WOULD WORK TOWARD ACHIEVING THIS. ON THE OTHER HAND, A COOL RECEPTION AND THE ABSENCE OF EVEN THE POTENTIAL OF FUTURE AID FROM THE US WOULD EFFECTIVELY QUASH THE HOPES AND

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EFFORTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD WORK WITH US. IF DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS DECIDE THAT SOME FORM OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO GUYANA IS WARRANTED, ONLY A TOKEN COMMITMENT SHOULD BE MADE INITIALLY, WITH SUBSEQUENT COMMITMENTS DEPENDENT UPON FURTHER EFFORTS BY THE GOG TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AND SHOW REGARD FOR US INTERESTS. THE INITIAL COMMITMENT, HOWEVER, WILL BE NECESSARY IF MODERATES HERE ARE TO PREVAIL OVER RADICALS WHO EITHER DO

NOT WANT US ASSISTANCE. THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS WILL NOT BE EASY AND WILL REQUIRE THAT THE US PROVIDE MOMENTUM AND STEADINESS TO THE PROCESS, BECAUSE IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THE GUYANESE, DESPITE THEIR GOOD INTENTIONS, WOULD BE ABLE TO DO IT WITHOUT NUDGING AND ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE US. THE PRINCIPAL COMPLICATING FACTORS IN ANY EFFORT TO IMPROVE US-GOG RELATIONS ARE THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF THE PAST--WHICH THE VISIT TO WASHINGTON COULD PUT ASIDE--AND THE PROBLEM OF THE GOG'S TACTICS IN DEALING WITH ITS LEFTIST OPPOSITION AND CUBAN AND SOVIET DIPLOMACY. A FACTOR WORKING IN OUR FAVOR, PROVIDED THE CARROT OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS DANGLED IN FRONT OF THE GOG, IS THE EXTREMELY SERIOUS ECONOMIC PLIGHT OF GUYANA NOW. END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION: THIS MESSAGE IS AN ATTEMPT TO PULL TOGETHER AND SYNTHESIZE IMPRESSIONS I HAVE GAINED FROM MY SEVERAL TALKS WITH FONMIN WILLS AND OTHER GOG OFFICIALS CONCERNING PROSPECTS FOR US-GOG RELATIONSHIPS AND PLACE IN CONTEXT WILLS'

WASHINGTON VISIT. IT OFFERS SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE VISIT AND WHAT WE CAN EXPECT FROM IT.

2. FONMIN WILLS VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH TOP OFFICIALS OF A NEW US ADMINISTRATION OFFERS BOTH GOVERNMENTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK OUT OF THE NEGATIVISM THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THEIR RELATIONSHIP DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS. THE GUYANESE HAD CONCLUDED THAT US WAS HOSTILE TO A SOCIALIST GUYANA. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPLOITED BY ANTI-US GUYANESE AND BY SOVIET AND CUBAN DIPLOMACY. THE GUYANESE LEADERS AND PEOPLE, NEVERTHELESS, RETAIN A STRONG EMPATHY AND ADMIRATION FOR THE GOOD THINGS THEY PERCEIVE IN THE US. THE INITIAL POLICY DECLARATIONS BY PRESIDENT CARTER, SECRETARY VANCE AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS HAVE STIMULATED AGAIN THIS EMPATHY.

3. WILLS' VISIT HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR LAYING THE BASIS FOR A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF US-GOG RELATIONS. IT MUST BE FOLLOWED BY OTHER GESTURES AND ACTIONS BY BOTH SIDES. GUYANA, BY ITSELF, WOULD NOT BE CAPABLE OF MAINTAINING MOMENTUM IN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS. THE US, AS THE MORE MATURE AND SECURE OF THE PARTICIPANTS, WILL HAVE TO SET ITS OWN OBJECTIVES AND BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE MOMENTUM AND STEADYING INFLUENCE.

4. WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION WILL BE EASY, BUT BELIEVE

THAT WITH SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY AND PATIENCE IT CAN SUCCEED. THE KEY IS FOR US OFFICIALS TO GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF TOP GOG LEADERS. WE NEED NOT LOSE OUR SCEPTICISM OF THEM, BUT WE SHOULD EXERCISE CARE TO SHOW WARMTH AND RESPECT. WILLS AND OTHERS WHO ARE WORKING FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE US NEED SOME ENCOURAGEMENT IF THEY ARE TO STAND UP TO THOSE WHO WOULD WRITE OFF ANY CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. I HAVE IMPRESSED UPON WILLS AND OTHER GOG LEADERS IN RECENT WEEKS THAT THEY MUST MAKE ACCOMMODATIONS AND WORK TO IMPROVE THE GOG'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. WILLS HAS INDICATED THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THIS. A LIMITING FACTOR FOR HIM AND OTHER GOG LEADERS IS THAT, GIVEN THE PRESENT GUYANESE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT, THEY CANNOT YET APPEAR TO BE SHARPLY REVERSING PREVIOUS POLICIES. WE FACE SOME OF THE SAME CONSTRAINTS, BUT THE PROBLEM IN TERMS OF POLITICAL RISK FOR GUYANESE LEADERS IS MUCH GREATER.

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5. WILLS VISIT: US EXPECTATIONS. IT APPEARS REALISTIC TO EXPECT THE FOLLOWING FROM WILLS DURING HIS TRIP:

- (A) A DIRECT COMMITMENT FROM HIM TO THE SECRETARY TO WORK TO IMPROVE US-GUYANESE RELATIONS.
- (B) A COMMITMENT THAT GUYANA WILL NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE USED BY ENEMIES OF THE US AS A MILITARY BASE, OR OTHERWISE ALLOW ITSELF TO BE USED AS A THREAT TO THE US.
- (C) AN EXPRESSION OF A WILLINGNESS TO CARRY ON WITH THE US EXTENSIVE AND CORDIAL CONSULTATION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES.
- (D) AN EXPLANATION, IF REQUESTED, CONCERNING GUYANA'S VOTING PATTERN AT THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA.

(COMMENT: WILLS MAY TEND TO BE DEFENSIVE ON THIS. HE IS CONVINCED OF THE VIRTUES OF MAINTAINING SOLIDARITY AMONG THE WEAK AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT IN RECENT YEARS UNITED STATES TACTICS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA GENERATED OPPOSITION RATHER THAN ACCOMMODATION. END COMMENT)

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 ARAE-00 IO-06 NSC-05 NSCE-00  
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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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(E) A STATEMENT THAT GUYANA WOULD WELCOME US PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN CERTAIN SECTORS OF ITS ECONOMY AND THAT AN "INVESTMENT CODE" WILL BE PROMULGATED TO REGULATE AND PROVIDE GUARANTEES AGAINST NATIONALIZATION OF THOSE FIRMS.

(COMMENT: I DOUBT THAT THE GOG COULD ACTIVELY APPEAR TO SEEK FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENT UNTIL IT HAS SUCCESSFULLY NEUTRALIZED CHEDDI JAGAN. END COMMENT)

(F) A STATEMENT CONCERNING WHERE THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO TAKE GUYANA, IN TERMS OF ITS INTERNAL ORGANIZATION AND EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS.

(G) AN INDICATION THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY CORROBORATING EVIDENCE, WE WILL HEAR NO MORE ALLEGATIONS THAT COULD BE TAKEN AS ACCUSATIONS THAT THE US IS ENGAGED CN DESTABILIZATION OF GUYANA.

6. WHAT WE CANNOT EXPECT. THERE ARE CERTAIN THINGS WE CANNOT EXPECT FROM THE VISIT. THESE INCLUDE:

(A) ANY CHANGE FROM GUYANA'S SOCIALIST ORIENTATION INTERNALLY, FROM ITS ADHERENCE TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, OR FROM ITS COMMITMENT TO A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

(B) ANY REDUCTION IN GUYANA'S EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION, UNLESS THEY BECOME HOSTILE TO THE BURNHAM GOVERNMENTN. (COMMENT: CONFIDENTIAL

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AS LONG AS THE PROBLEM OF NEUTRALIZING CHEDDI JAGAN CONFRONTS BURNHAM, HE WILL SEEK FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES AND ELICIT THEIR COOPERATION. END COMMENT)

7. WILLS' OBJECTIVES IN WASHINGTON. DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WILLS WILL SEEK TO FOLLOWING:

(A) EXPLICIT ASSURANCE FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THAT IT WANTS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH A SOCIALIST GUYANA.

(B) DIRECT REAFFIRMATION THAT THE US WILL NOT TAKE SIDES IN GUYANA'S BORDER DISPUTES AND THAT THESE PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SETTLED BY NEGOTIATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER.

(C) A REITERATION OF THE US COMMITMENT THAT IT OPPOSES

TERRORIST ACTS BY CUBAN EXILE ORGANIZATIONS AND THAT THE USG WILL SEEK TO PREVENT SUCH GROUPS FROM OPERATING FROM THE US. (COMMENT: I HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSURED WILLS ABOUT US OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM, BUT HE WOULD LIKE SUCH A COMMITMENT FROM THE SECRETARY. END COMMENT)  
(D) AN INDICATION THAT THE US WILL CONTINUE ITS BILATERAL AID PROGRAM AS WELL AS INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL FUNDING INSTITUTIONS. (COMMENT: THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF WILLS' TRIP. I HAVE DELIBERATELY DAMPENED HIS EXPECTATIONS OF IMMEDIATE SUCCESS ON AID. HE HAS TOLD ME, HOWEVER, THAT GUYANA WOULD APPRECIATE ANY ASSISTANCE THAT THE US COULD PROVIDE. END COMMENT)  
(E) ALTHOUGH WILLS WILL NOT DIRECTLY REQUEST IT, HE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INDICATIONS THAT THE US WOULD HELP PREPARE THE WAY FOR GUYANA TO BE ADMITTED TO THE OAS.

8. POSSIBLE BURNHAM/CARTER VISIT. WILLS HAS TOLD ME THAT HE HOPES TO LAY THE INITIAL GROUNDWORK FOR A TRIP BY BURNHAM TO WASHINGTON AND A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER NEXT SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. HE BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO RAISE THIS SUBJECT IN WASHINGTON NOW, BUT BURNHAM HAS DECLARED HIS HOPE TO MEET WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESIDENT CARTER. WILLS RECOGNIZES THAT SUCH A VISIT WOULD BE POSSIBLE ONLY IF GUYANA IMPROVES ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US.

9. WILLS STAKE IN THE VISIT. WILLS PLACES GREAT IMPORTANCE UPON ESTABLISHING GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH SECRETARY VANCE AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN AND IN RESUMING RELATIONSHIPS WITH LEURS AND HEAVNER. HE HAS A LARGE PERSONAL STAKE IN BEING ABLE TO SHOW THAT HE WAS WELL-RECEIVED BY US OFFICIALS. SOME PNC OFFICIALS OPPOSED THE TRIP BECAUSE THEY FELT IT WOULD BE HUMILIATING FOR WILLS TO GO TO WASHINGTON SEEKING GOOD RELATIONS AND ASSISTANCE UNLESS WASHINGTON FIRST PROVIDED SOME INDICATION THAT HE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED. OTHERS HAVE OPPOSED THE TRIP BECAUSE THEY STILL DO NOT BELIEVE THE US WILL PROVIDE NEW DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO A SOCIALIST GUYANA. SOME OF THESE SAME PEOPLE HAVE WANTED HIM TO DEMAND AN APOLOGY FOR THE "BALD FACE LIES" STATEMENT. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, SOME FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS WHO WANT TO SEE A RESTORATION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS HAVE ARGUED THAT THE TRIP IS PREMATURE, AS THE GOG HAS NOT YET HAD SUFFICIENT TIME TO OFFER CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF ITS INTENTIONS TO REVERSE THE DETERIORATION IN RELATIONS WITH THE US.

10. WILLS, HOWEVER, HAS FELT THAT THE TRIP SHOULD TAKE

PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO CLEAR UP MISCONCEPTIONS ON BOTH SIDES, AND ENABLE HIM TO PERSONALLY AND DIRECTLY ASSESS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD GUYANA.

11. WILLS' MEASURE OF THE RESULTS OF HIS MISSION WILL BE ON A SLIDING SCALE. IF HE COULD OBTAIN A CONVINCING INDICATION THAT THE US WILL ACCEPT A SOCIALIST GUYANA AND WOULD PROVIDE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, WILLS WOULD CONSIDER THIS TRIP A SUCCESS. IF HE WERE TOLD THAT THE \$1.0 MILLION MIDDLE MANAGEMENT TRAINING LOAN WILL BE RELEASED, HE WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED A MAJOR SUCCESS.  
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12. HOPEFULLY WILLS' VISIT WILL ENABLE US TO PUT ASIDE THE SUSPICIONS AND BITTERNESS OF THE PAST. IF WE DO SO, THE MAJOR POTENTIAL COMPLICATION IN OUR FUTURE RELATIONS WILL RESULT FROM THE GOG'S ACTIONS AND POLICIES, INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY, IN DEALING WITH ITS STATUS AS A MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN THE FACE OF JAGAN'S OPPOSITION AND HIS SUPPORT BY THE SOVIET UNION. BUT THE POTENTIAL STRAINS ON THE US-GOG RELATIONSHIP IMPOSED BY THIS SITUATION WOULD BE WORSE IF WE DO NOT NOW SUCCEED IN ESTABLISHING A DEGREE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. A SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD ENABLE THE US TO EXERT A MODERATING INFLUENCE ON THE GOG AS IT MANAGES ITS DOMESTIC POLITICAL DILEMMA. THE POTENTIAL OF THE CUBANS TO SOW DISTRUST OF THE HAS ALREADY DIMINISHED, PRIMARILY DUE TO THE ADVENT OF THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION AND WOULD BE REDUCED EVEN MORE IF WILLS IS GIVEN FIRM ASSURANCES IN WASHINGTON THAT THE US WILL ACTIVELY OPPOSE CUBAN EXILE TERRORISM.

13. MANAGEMENT OF WILLS' VISIT. WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT DESPITE WILLS' GENERAL GOOD INTENTIONS, HE IS A MERCURIAL MAN, WHO IN RELAXED AND CORDIAL COMPANY IS GIVEN TO INDISCREET DISCLOSURES AND PREMATURE COMMITMENTS AND ALTERNATIVELY, UNDER PRESSURE, TO INTEMPERATE REMARKS OR CRITICISM WHICH HE SOMETIMES REGRETS LATER. WITHIN THE PARAMETERS SET BY THE DOCTRINE OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE GOG'S COMMITMENT TO INTERNAL SOCIALISM, WILLS' CONDUCT CAN BE APTLY DESCRIBED AS "STREAM OF CONSCIOUSNESS DIPLOMACY." HIS STAFF COMPLAINS THAT HE ENGAGES IN "DIPLOMACY IN INSPIRATION," AND HE RECOGNIZES THIS IN HIMSELF-- BUT HE WILL NOT CHANGE HIS STYLE. THIS STYLE AND WILLS' PERSONALITY UNDERLIE SOME OF THE INCONSISTENCIES WE HAVE SEEN IN THE GOG'S CONDUCT OF ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS. THE WARMTH AND RESPECT WITH WHICH WILLS IS RECEIVED WILL BE AS IMPORTANT IN ENSURING HIS FUTURE  
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COOPERATION AND TRUST AS WILL THE SUBSTANTIAL ASPECTS OF HIS VIST.

14. ASSUMING THAT WILLS' VISIT IS PRODUCTIVE, I WOULD  
HOPE THAT THE US PRESS DOES NOT OVERPLAY THE VISIT AND  
ITS RESULTS. PRESS REPORTS THAT GUYANA IS SWINGING  
TOWARD THE US WOULD GENERATE COUNTER-PRESSURES HERE.  
THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION IS STILL TOO FRAGILE TO  
STAND MUCH BUFFETING.  
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